1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinoa [*quinoa?*], madi [*maxi?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

[3] Graham, 1925, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Lenthon, 1909, pp. 340–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 168–230; and Montaldo, 1936, pp. 70–180.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

the owners of the big estates known as *fundos*.[9] Some Chilean landowners employ Araucanians by preference because they are willing to work long hours for small pay, will accept poorer food and housing than Chilean workmen demand, and do not often join organized labor movements.

All in all, it can be seen that land ownership has become one of the most vexing problems confronting the Mapuche. It is aggravated by the fact that the soil which was once heavily wooded has been swept bare of its forest cover as more and more trees have been cut down to clear ground for farming, for fuel, and to provide material for houses.[10] Furthermore, the increase of livestock since pacification has led to serious overgrazing, with the result that the heavy rains of winter wash valuable chemicals out of the denuded earth and erode great tracts of precious soil as the waters cut deeply into the bare ground. In addition, the Indians have been cultivating their land much more intensively since the beginning of the reservation period than they ever had done before, without adequate programs of fertilization, crop rotation, or fallowing. It is by no means uncommon to find a native struggling year in and year out to raise two crops of wheat annually on the same piece of ground. It is no wonder that in some cases the soil has become depleted to the point where the returns are scarcely worth the effort of farming.

LAND USE

Several basic changes in land use have taken place in the last few decades. Above all, agriculture has become a major occupation for men,[11] and its practice has become intensive rather than desultory. Wheat is the principal crop, both for food and

[9] Once in a while an ambitious Araucanian who has grown rich will work for a Chilean landlord as a *mayordomo*, or a profit-sharing basis, while his children squeeze his own farm. Such men soon become far wealthier than their neighbors.

[10] Under missionary influence a few Mapuche are compensating for the loss of forest cover by planting groves of eucalyptus or apple trees on their property (Bunzel[1938]).

[11] Women still help during planting and harvesting times, and I have observed children, in families where adult males are lacking, performing such heavy tasks as plowing.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tion, and those leading to the Chilean towns or from one reduction to another are little more than wagon trails, unsurfaced, ungraded, and rarely kept in repair. Ordinarily, they can be used by oxcart except in the rainy season, when they are passable, if at all, only on horseback (Pl. V, Fig. 1).

One of the factors that has served to augment the isolation of Mapuche reservations is the increase of fences. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of large *fundos*, which are likely to be completely enclosed, thus forcing travelers to make long detours.

Throughout the area the hardships of winter travel are most clearly manifested in cases of severe illness. Our attention was called to numerous instances of people from Cholchol who, when stricken with appendicitis, had to travel several hours on horseback to reach a hospital. We also witnessed a very dramatic event on the night of July 5, 1948, when an Araucanian young woman attempted suicide by shooting herself in the stomach. About a dozen men took turns in wretched weather to carry her twenty miles in an improvised litter to the mission hospital in Cholchol. She was given first aid and ordered to go to Nueva Imperial for further treatment. This necessitated another long journey over miserable roads in a small cart. We were unable to learn whether or not the patient survived the trip, for a storm blew down Cholchol's telephone connections.

FOOD HABITS

The preparation of food is a principal concern of the women. Wheat is the main staple; most commonly it is ground to flour and parched or toasted to make *mürke*. It is then usually stirred into hot or cold water to form a gruel or porridge that is called *chuchau* if salted, and *wilpud* or *allpud* if sweetened. Wheat flour is also mixed with water, salt, and leavening to prepare a dough that is baked in hot ashes to make a tortilla-like bread called *remalke/ke*. Occasionally, too, bread dough is fried in deep fat, in the form of a large circular roll (*iwinke/ke*) that has a crisp crust and a soft interior.

Apparently, the Araucanians do not adhere strictly to the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

292 301 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks, known as a *trarŭlokko*, that encircles the head above the ears (Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids, between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarŭlokko* and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however, these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

[177] 283 286 In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian culture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.

● [462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time they make many things for home use and can always find a market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[a] At present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of the traditional crafts,[b] and the others purchase what they want

[a] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1940a, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931a. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931b; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fonticilla, 1946. Guevara (1909, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[b] At Cautinclo, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrerillo and

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llellkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·trufs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·trufs* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·trufs* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·trufs* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·trufs* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rukümapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rukümapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rukümapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[9] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[9] *Pifüllkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·trufs* are described in Joseph, 1930a, pp. 70–77. The *llellkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

4 Latcham F-S (1888-1893) 1909 SC4 Araucanians SC4

241 them in all their wanderings, had a chisel-like point, generally charred to give a greater substance.

Later on the plough, first introduced by the Spaniards, was widely imitated by the Indians. Their first attempt was simply a long-forked pole, the shorter arm of which was pointed. Over the fork a heavy stone was attached, and a short handle added. It was drawn by four or six men.

This form was afterwards modified, by being made in two parts; the body, which was shod with iron at the point, and the pole. The handle passed through both, and was wedged.

This plough is still used, not only by the Indians, but all over Chile, in the more rural parts, and even many of the larger farms still employ it, although the iron plough is rapidly taking its place.

The harrows used consist of a number of thorny branches lashed together and weighted by heavy logs.

Their harvests are threshed out by troops of mares. A circle is enclosed by palings, the corn is spread on the broken floor, till the grain is trampled out. It is then winnowed by tossing from one pile to another with wooden shovels.

In the Central and Northern provinces the Indians had learnt the art of irrigation from the Incas, but in the south the frequent rains rendered this unnecessary.

• [243] All the lighter work is performed by the women, the men only taking part in the ploughing and threshing.

Formerly all agricultural and other work was undertaken for the benefit of the family or clan, but now individual rights are gradually being asserted, especially by those Indians who have been more brought in contact with civilized customs.

Among those Indians who live in the forest region, the land is prepared for sowing by burning a piece of the undergrowth, where the larger trees appear in fewer numbers. This operation is frequently performed twice. The smaller roots are then grubbed out, and the ground prepared in the ordinary way.

Before the settlement of the Indian territory by the Chilian Government, it was seldom that the same plot was planted more than once, but of late, since the Indians have become confined to special grounds allotted to them, it has become customary to sow the same plot over and over again, although occasionally they allow a plot to lie fallow.

231 The Araucanos keep considerable flocks and herds, especially of sheep and breed mares, and occasionally horned cattle. The milk both of the mares and cows is occasionally used, but the production of butter or cheese is very little understood.

771 *Religion.*—It is extremely difficult to speak with certainty of the religious beliefs of the Araucanos. The Spanish writers of the time of the Conquest did not take the trouble properly to examine or analyse the rites and superstitions of the conquered races, omitting everything they did not understand, or that did not

S Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and livestock, which as a rule were not, or could not by right be, sold by her husband without her consent (Moesbach, ibid.). There is no trace among the Araucanians of the system of periodic allotment of gardening land that is found in some communities of the Highland of Bolivia and Peru and probably of the Piedmont of far northern Chile (Mellafe, 1888, pp. 309, 364).

Inheritance.—Here, too, information is late, meager, and lacking in detail. A man's property was inherited by his sons, according to Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875, p. 141). When an older man (father or other) was near death, all his blood kin came in together, and he distributed some of his property to each, and the residue to his children, or, if there were no children, to his brothers and other near blood kin (Havestadt, 1883, 2:621; Molina, 1901, p. 122). (On inheritance of wives, see topic under Marriage and Family.)

Exchange.—Barter by exchange of presents was common—the donor giving with the expectation of a return from the recipient. (Febrés, 1882, s.v. dádiba; Havestadt, 1883, pp. 616–17; Smith, 1855, pp. 288, 292.) Havestadt states (1883, 2:700) that llamas (llaykas) were used to purchase necessities as well as to compensate for murders, and Molina (1901, p. 166) reports a sort of conventional tariff of "payments" (dullin) consisting of a horse or bridle as "one payment," an ox as "two payments," etc. but a more specific currency was absent. Some plain barter, but not so much, was carried on by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* among themselves. They carried on a considerable "foreign" trade with, e.g., the *Pehuche* for salt, bezoars, feathers, etc.; with the Spanish, selling ponchos and livestock for wine and miscellaneous merchandise. There were no established markets or market days, although Martín de Loyola (1865, p. 124) states that the "public gardens," that is, the open grounds set aside and used for assemblies and feasts, served as places for buying and selling goods and women—incidentally, no doubt, to civic or social gatherings therein.

Labor.—Some kinds of work, such as constructing houses and sowing and harvesting, were done by voluntary communal or group labor. The individual would invite his kin and neighbors to help. No payment was made to them for their labor, but at the end he would usually provide a good feast with plenty of chicha, and he in turn would, of course, be expected to help when one of them had similar need.

To the men fell the tasks of felling trees and clearing the ground for gardens, attending cattle and horses, hunting, cutting wood, all woodworking, constructing huts, corrals and other enclosures, fishing and navigating, carrying on military activities, and making weapons and tools. The women's work included cultivating the garden, preparing and cooking food, making fermented beverages, caring for the younger children, collecting wild plant foods, spinning, weaving of blankets and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and various

manuscript

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

and her mother. Usually a midwife is present also, and on occasion some of the woman's relatives and women friends. Any woman who is a nearby neighbor can always be relied on to assist, if needed. A machi is not present but is called in if the mother or child takes sick.

Until very recently, midwifery was practiced exclusively by women; at the time of the present study several middle-aged men in Alepún area were doing so, one being assisted by his wife. "Both he and his wife were present last week when my sister's child was born. That man certainly knows how to deliver a baby!" A midwife is called domchefe or domo kimfeturkutrunfe; there is no word for a male obstetrician, an indication that midwifery for men is not an old custom.

To quote one of the men who assists at deliveries: "My part in helping is to examine the woman to make certain that the baby is in the right position, especially that the head is lying in the right position, for that is important. If it is, then all goes well and fast. When the first four of my children were born, I had a man deliver each—we call him a partero; we have no Mapuche name for such a man. I lost these four children; each died when about two months old. I watched that man deliver these children. Because these four died as infants, I delivered my wife myself of the next children. There were four more and they all lived." A Pangulpulli woman was annoyed when asked if men assisted at deliveries: "What are you thinking about! It is always a woman who does so, a sensible woman, one who knows how!" Her husband interjected: "If a family is so poor that it cannot pay the midwife what she asks for a delivery, then the woman's husband will deliver his wife. Only then will any man help."

In some areas the midwife is paid for her services. In Alepún she asks for 50 pesos (one U. S. dollar); if the woman is a relative, she accepts no pay. In Collaripe area the midwife receives no pay; her compensation is the privilege of calling each child that she delivers "my child." "And later on when the child is old enough to comprehend, its mother will say to it, if the midwife happens to come around, 'This is your mother.' This pleases the midwife; it is done in grateful recognition."

It is a custom for all members of a family to stay around home when anyone in the family is sick; it is for this reason that a woman's children are present when she gives birth to a child—their mother is thought of as being sick. Teachers related instances when a relative or a neighbor of a family requested that children be allowed to leave school and go home because there was sickness in their family. The day following, the children would tell of the birth of a brother or a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

in the Pacific (pl. 42, *f*); the dugout (*waupo*; Spanish, *canoa*) (pl. 40, *g*) and the raft, the balsa (*taqi*), were used in Coñaripe area to transport persons and loads across rivers.

In all areas rivers were forded on foot, on horseback, and in canoes. Bridges were found only where roads had been built by the Chilean Government or by private lumbering firms. Creeks were forded on foot or were crossed on footbridges consisting of one or several logs at convenient places.

It is a man's duty, in general, to do the family selling, buying, and trading; consequently men travel greater distances than do women and children. A few men informants of all areas had traveled as far as Santiago (a day and night trip on a local train); no women had. All men informants had been to the largest trading center near their area: for Alepúe area, Valdivia (45,000 population); for Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, Villarrica (4,600); for Boroa area, Nueva Imperial (6,600). Many women in Boroa had been to Nueva Imperial, their nearest large city; only a few women in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas had been to their respective large centers. Of 21 children in an Alepúe school, all but one girl had been to San José de Mariquina, the nearest trading center, a distance of 3 to 4 hours on horseback. Half of the boys had been to Lanco, a greater distance; one-third, to Lanconlue, still farther away; but none of the girls had been to either of these places.

TRADE, EXCHANGE, AND CURRENCY

Bartering, as in former days, is still the prevailing form of trade among the Araucanians themselves. "When we were married, we were very poor," said a 60-year-old Coñaripe woman. "We cleared a piece of land and planted wheat in it. At harvest time I exchanged for cows and sheep with Mapuche around here, who were in need of wheat, all the wheat that we could spare. Soon we had a number of animals, and that is how we got our start." A man in the same area exchanged a horse for two and a half sacks of wheat—a sack approximated a hundred kilograms. A woman was seen exchanging sugar for both wheat and flour; another paid for yerba maté with a hen. Children in all areas were seen bartering, among themselves, such things as marbles for toys, pencils for paper, tortillas for other things.

Borrowing, too, was done in all areas. Such needed things as cups, hens, screwdrivers, gloves, saucers, hats, needles, bottles, were being borrowed. Unfailingly things borrowed were returned. Families helped each other out with sugar and flour; equal amounts were returned when a new supply was obtained.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SC4 Araucanians SC4

Chile

[illegible] shes. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342
rushes (pl. 34, 1) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct;
informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had de-
stroyed most of it. Substitutes for rushes are chapiu, bulrushes [illegible]
reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting
the thatch, others strip twigs off the cuttable poles; some begin to
erect the framework, others tie the cuttable poles to the framework,
and still others tie together the rushers and tie bunches. All tying is
done with sewn vegetal (pl. 34, 1). Nearly all the men braid a band
when rushes are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and
roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with
roots outbound; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is
secured in position by means of vegetal applied with a twining
technique. Once the thatch is in place, cuttable poles are fastened
horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied
to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka
usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [illegible]
the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal.
"After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this
song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful ruka,
if I had a nice room, I would enter into this house to greet the wife
of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at
the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to
intoxication.

A 33-year old Collonjo man explained the building of the split-log [illegible]
roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied
these from the Chilenos," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise
and a good portion of the core removed. A pair of these split, hol-
lowed-out logs is laid across the roof having space between them to
allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second pair of the split
hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so
that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath
it. In this position the logs are suspended, give ventilation, and
allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family, but it is spoken of as belong- [illegible]
ing to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it,
and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at
the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 357
are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The
open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and
[illegible]

10: Bülger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

295 ...ump spotlight, "because none is needed; the water seems to have no hardening minerals in it" (Allegria area).

The article to be washed is placed on the rock or dirt, and is dugged with a flat, long-handled, wooden knife (pl. 40, f), made in any place to insure the chance of its being broken. After the article has been well dugged, it is rinsed by being swished back and forth in running water. Dugging and rinsing is repeated until the article is clean. Persons more often kneel than stand while washing. The cloth is carried home wet and is hung on bushes and fences to dry. Ironing today is done in the usual Chilean way—either with a flatiron heated directly on glowing coals, or with charcoal irons into which burning coals are placed.

DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS

spinning, weaving, knitting

236 Several days before sheep are sheared they are washed with a decoction of leaves of canelo, which the women pour on while the men work the wool with the hands. "This decoction makes a good foam and certainly washes the sheep clean." Both men and women shear sheep.

The sheared wool is hung on fences where it generally stays until it is needed for weaving some article. The women then power boiling water over it and allow it to the bowls or river where she works it well with her hands in the earth running water and swishes it vigorously back and forth so that "all dirt and little sticks will get out of it and float away." The soap is soaplock—"the oil in the wood cleans the wool." The wool is thoroughly dried on fences in the sun.

283 (?) Formerly all women and girls, and many boys to years and older, spun wool into yarn; today, boys seldom do. Men rarely did so formerly, and never do so today. Wool that is to be spun is disentangled and pulled into long wools by women and children, both boys and girls. The spindle (Mapudun) (pl. 39, c) is a single smooth, rounded piece of wood slightly grooved near the upper end and weighted with a whorl (pidun) near the lower end. "I made my spindle from a board that was lying around," said an Allegria woman, "and this whorl I made a year ago. I had some pottery material left after making an olla, and so I made several whorls from it." The spindle was 17 inches long and 1½ inches in diameter, the whorl, discoid in shape, 2 inches in diameter and ¾ inch thick. Spindles I saw measured between 18 and 20 inches in length, and ¾ to 1½ inches in diameter. Whorls were either circular, discoid, or trapezoidal and were 2 inches in diameter and approximately ¾ inch thick.

Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Accessions SC4
Chile

296 Uruguay. If given reasonable care, a Bajá will give 10 years of service. The Bajá I saw were 9 to 9 inches deep, 14 to 15 inches in diameter at the bottom, 10 to 13 inches in diameter across the top, and 3 to 3 inches along slanting sides.

POTTERY MAKING

519 Pottery making is the work of women. The traditional olla (pot-like container) and chuiuve (jugilke container, pl. 45, *f*) are still the chief articles made and are still used in many households. Schoolgirls older than 10 had made useful miniatures of olla and chuiuve, and also wheels for spindles.

Brown and black clays are used in pottery making. An Alapín woman found black clay "for three chuiuves, over by Pacific; some around here [on the hills] is very good. I searched for three days and finally found this." Another woman had used brown clay. "I know one place of land in which there is much of it; once a the women get it there."

As an adhesive, women once using finely grown pumice found both along river beds and on the shores of the Pacific. "It is a smooth white stone; pounding it to powder takes longer than shaping an olla." A mixture of clay and pumice is moistened with water, and then well worked with the hands.

The coil method is used in making pottery. A woman wishing to make an olla uses both hands to roll out a lump of clay on a hard surface. With this roll she forms the bottom of the ola—"the bottom decides the size of what I am making." From then on, the olla is built up with new coils—the end of one rol and the beginning of the next are joined by being pinched together. As the building process proceeds, shaping is done. After the women a certain stages, puts the molding with both hands simultaneously, with one on the outside and the other on the inside, and then smooths both inside and outside surfaces by rubbing them. Great care is exercised to make the inside surface very smooth—particularly on rough spots must be rubbed by hand to adhere to. When completely molded be outer surface is made still smoother by being rubbed with the [illegible] a smooth shell [illegible] to [illegible] size, and with the tip of a cow's horn in Paraguayan area. "For the inside, I again rub with my finer tips so I can feel any rough spots I may have missed."

The olla must be dried gradually; if dried fast, it may collapse. In general, it is kept away from the fire for a week—"it depends upon the weather." Then it is put into a rebel and brought some distance

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families equal in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known.

Drinking water was taken from an unmentioned spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be unmentioned. (Pls. 6a, 1; 7a, 1.) Homes were located only where there was an unmentioned source of water.

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of quico and bark of canqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and maize, cultivated small grain and corn, or arrowroot roots. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat.

Chicha (palin), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of maqui (unidentified), guerilla, and mitikel, and of wild apples. A 50-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 3- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately crushed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally cedar. The crushed apples were poured into cylindric containers in which holes had been previously picked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated cylindric containers until it became chicha.

I observed a 50-year-old woman making chicha from berries of guerilla and mitikel. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She crushed handfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated bark container that she had made by fastening the ends of the bark to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she poured a finely woven bilka (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Araucanian law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; mine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba mate, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and

U:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile S61

2

The Agrarian Setting

The Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the alienation and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1881-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1890 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map 1 will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many livestock. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might seem to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:370) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a sparcy and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and dooryard cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In pre-reservation times horticulture was essentially women's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting to

BrParon E-9 (1952-1954)1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4 Mapuche

use and livestock skinnishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fallow utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and no exception prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (arado de palo) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast. If the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be bloomed or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crisscross each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually disposed of the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the furrow has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (rodillo) may be

II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

amount to a basket of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. Chacarería in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from canelo water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Sheep is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of canelo water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *minguco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[594] [178] roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

[593] Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) [618] the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[344] [465] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which [422] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Mapuche

Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive field farming which came about with the introduction of draft oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits. Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves the cultivation of wheat, barley, oats, potatoes, and a few other crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in plots adjacent to households.

Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to lose their scarce crop receipts. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to ameliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

Labor Organization

The organization of labor has undergone significant change in the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

rewe (a stripped-bark and carved pole outside her house, which the shaman during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by ancestors and the machi's familiars (pillan).

The machi must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (thongolmachife) who tells the machi the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the machi is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that machi used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blow tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The machi enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (lawen), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and sprinkling water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (machitun). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. Machi agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (am) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a kalku and turned against the machi, and the machi's himself might be captured by a kalku, whereupon the machi herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of machi are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in most cases that these women domi-

Id: Foran E-4,5 (1932-1934) 1964
SC4 Araucaniana SC4
Mapuche

prosperity which exists in Mapuchedom with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that machi are active and powerful persons in the rural community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their pillan for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of machi are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patrilocal society, the machi's attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the secular and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All machi are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a machi who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary machi are women seems to beg an historical answer, since the present condition is usually described in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latest function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patrilocal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1940), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusion independently of Cooper, and writes:

Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . . transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was common (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Reuel Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emile House (1939:113), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;